

Grand Mystery

L A I D O P E N ;

N A M E L Y,

By Dividing of the *Protestants* to weaken the *Hanover Succession*, and by defeating the *Succession*, to extirpate the *Protestant Religion*.

To which is added,

' *The Sacredness of Parliamentary Securities :*

Against those,

Who wou'd *indirectly* this Year, or more directly the next (if they live so long) attack the *Publick Funds*.

These are Consequences in which his Electoral Highness is too nearly interested and concern'd, to look upon them with Indifference.

Electors of Brunswick's Memorial, Nov. 28. 1711.

I cannot but press you to take care of Publick Credit, which cannot be preserv'd but by keeping sacred that Maxim, That they shall never be losers, who trust a Parliamentary Security.

King William's last Speech, Dec. 31. 1701.

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T H E

GRAND MYSTERY

Laid O P E N, &c.

TH E Danger of the *Protestant Succession* in the most Serene *Electoral* House of *Hanover*, so often ridicul'd by those who are disaffected to the same, and as often inculcated by its Friends, is now put out of all doubt by the concurrent Voices of the Three *Estates* of the Kingdom. The *Queen* has issued out Her Royal Proclamation, promising the Reward of Five Thousand Pounds, out of Her private Purse, to Those who shall bring the *Pretender* to Justice, in case he Lands, or attempts to Land in any of Her Dominions: Which she had never done, if she were not better convinc'd than by *publick Rumours*, that the *Impostor* designs a speedy *Invasion*; and for this I appeal to the Answer Her Majesty was pleased to give some time ago to the *Peers*, when they Address'd Her, to make a Proclamation of this Nature. The *Lords*, who never meddle originally in Money-matters, have not only thank'd Her Majesty in the most significant expressions for offering such a Reward, that the Person attainted in Parliament, may be brought to his

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merited

merited Execution ; but have likewise made several no less excellent than seasonable *Resolutions*, to prevent the impending Danger, among which, that of seizing the Arms and Horses of *Papists* and *Nonjurors* is not the least important : And, now we shall see by the manner of putting the Laws for this purpose in execution, who are Loyal to the *Queen*, true to the House of *Hanover*, and zealous for the *Protestant* Religion, and who are lukewarm or disaffected to all Three. The *Commons*, to their most hearty Thanks, have added the further Reward of One Hundred Thousand Pounds, (worthy Themselves and the Cause) which was oppos'd only by **FOUR** : And the Promoters of these vigorous steps in both Houses, are as well known to the publick, and to the *Successor*; as all Mens Eyes will be open to observe who shall distinguish themselves by encouraging or neglecting the service, (as I said just now) in seizing the Horses and Arms of the *Papists*, and also of the *Nonjurors*, who have as little right to the Denomination of good *Protestants*, as that of good *Subjects*. Nevertheless, to give even the Devil his due, these are not quite so bad, as they who take the Oaths to let in the *Pretender*, and who take Places to keep out the **ELECTOR**, of which preposterous set of Creatures in due time and place.

But neither the *Queen's* Proclamation, nor the *Resolutions* of Both Houses, (gracious and good as they are) without very effectual Preparations, are sufficient at this time, considering that the Danger is no less great than imminent. In *Ireland* the *papists* have thrown off the mask to such a degree, that common Justice cannot be executed upon Traytors to Her Majesty, without extraordinary Guards, for fear of a Rescue, or I should rather have said of an Insurrection.

They exercise their abominable Idolatry as publicly, as others do the Worship of the Establish'd
Church

Church. They are not only enlisting, but actually providing themselves with Arms; in plain defiance of the Laws, and to the inexpressible terror of the *Protestants*, who are in daily fear of a MASSACRE: And those Fears, grounded upon lamentable Experience, were encreas'd, not without abundant Reason, when they perceiv'd *that this enlisting Men*, with the like traitorous matters of Fact, as open as the day, were not only ridicul'd, but even deny'd on this side of the Water, by people of another guess figure and weight than the *Examiner*, *Postboy*, or that profligate *Divine*, who, prostituting his sacred Function, has sold himself for Hire to Iniquity, vilely turning State-Buffoon to a couple of the greatest State-mountebanks in the World. O poor *Ireland!* If the blessed in Heaven cou'd be ruff'd by any Passions, how sensibly touch'd, how deeply afflicted even there, would the Spirits of thy glorious Deliverer King *William*, and of his faithful Minister Chancellor *Methuen* become, at the melancholy sight of thy present State! How would they stand amaz'd at those, who are now busy in searching for *Records* in the *Tower* to the prejudice of thy Liberty! as the same and other *Records* were lately rumag'd to Establish *Hereditary Right*, that is, *Papish Tyranny* in *Britain!* How would they grieve at the Anarchy of *Dublin!*

But what do I talk of the *Papists* in *Ireland?* when scarce any above the degree of a Farmer of that Profession in *England*, but were observ'd to have come to *London* this Winter, where most of 'em still remain; as if they waited or were Enroll'd to assist in some extraordinary Transaction, and as if some decisive stroke were to be struck on a sudden. These in all Assemblies were the most forward Panegyrists of the late *Peace*, the earnest asserters of the *Bill of Commerce*, the loudest declaimers against the *Emperor* and the *Dutch*, and, what rais'd my Laughter as much

much as my Indignation, the most violent Promoters of the *Schism-Bill*. I don't wonder so much that they, and their Confederates the *Nonjurors*, should pass the bounds of all Decency in their Invectives against his Highness the *Duke of Cambridge*, under pretence of Loyalty to the *Queen* : And certainly, it would appear a stupendous *Mystery*, had we not the Key to these Gentlemen's Cypher, to seem 'em such resolute declar'd Champions for the *Queen* and the *Church*, whereof I doubt not, but the first will in good time reward some of them with a Halter for their pains.

But the Enlisting of men for the *Pretender*, is not confin'd only to *Ireland*, or the *Highlands of Scotland*, the like traiterous Practise has not wanted success in *England*, in *London*, at the Gates of the Palace ; and *Hugh O Kelly* concern'd in the same, had found upon him a Certificate of his being a good *Catholic*, and Brother to *Cornelius O Kelly*, lately Deceas'd, under the Hand of the Lord *Middleton*, who therein styles himself *Minister and Secretary of his Britannick Majesty*. Now, if any should be ignorant who the Lord *Middleton* may be, he was Father to him that was taken in the *Salisbury* Man of War, actually Invading her Majesty's Realms ; and being for some time committed for this Treason to the *Tower*, was suffered to go back again in safety to *France*, and who is now at the Court of *Vienna*, suing for Aid in favour of the *Pretender*, to Invade a second time Her Majesty's Dominions, to Dethrone Herself if he can, and to set aside the *Protestant Succession* for ever. The Party who Encourag'd the first *Invasion* in *Scotland*, are now earnestly soliciting, that their Country may have the honour of the second : And, indeed, the State of that Country would, at this Juncture, be extremely dubious, were it not for the hitherto unexempl'd temper and moderation of those of the *Establish'd Church* there, who, all provocations to the contra-

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ry notwithstanding, in spite of all Invasions on their Constitution, and of such usage on divers occasions, as could be calculated for nothing but the forcing them into a Rebellion, have continued inviolably dutiful to Her Majesty, and unalterably steadfast to the Protestant Succession. Nothing could shake them, no Artifice prevail upon them; no more than irritate or seduce their Brethren in the North of Ireland; tho'tis very evident, that no means have been left unattempted to drive them into some desperate courses, by reason that Confusion is one of the things absolutely necessary to facilitate the designs of Popery and the Pretender: Nor do I question, but a good account is kept of this part of the horrid Scheme, with all the steps that have been taken to bring it to effect, and that the Contrivers will be one day oblig'd to answer for the same to these Nations, which they have distracted, tho not yet Destroy'd, nor I hope ever shall.

Of our *disbanded Soldiers* vast numbers are gone to France and Lorain, which those, who are not able to deny so notorious a Fact, attribute to their pinching Misery. 'Twere certainly to be wish'd, that better care had been taken to prevent or relieve such want, especially in men that had serv'd their Country with so remarkable Fidelity and Bravery; nor is it to be doubted, but their starving Condition has driven numbers of 'em as effectually thither, as if their hard usage had been contriv'd on purpose to have it so. But still this is neither the sole nor principal cause of their leaving their native Country, into which they hope speedily to return. The King of France and his Pupil are enough convinc'd of the aversion the *British* Nations have to Slavery, and that even many of the Pretender's Adherents would not have him restor'd by a French Power: For this Reason, high if not extravagant Encouragement is given to all *English, Irish, or Scots*, that will enlist themselves

selves in the service of either, or of the Duke of *Lorain*; that a body of Troops sufficient for the Expedition may be form'd out of these, whereby they design to kill two birds with one stone. It will be given out (in the first place) nay and inserted in a *Declaration*, that the *Pretender* comes in by his own Subjects, without any foreign aid : and (in the second place) these will be to all intents and purposes the *French King's* Troops, at his Devotion no less than in his pay, as much as if they were all born in *Dauphiné*. For, let People fancy what they please, tho' the *Chevalier's* interest is pretended, the thing intended is *Conquest, French Conquest*. If the other shall ever be able to begin the work, the real *French Forces* will soon be after 'em to finish it. And nothing in this world can prevent either this dire *Catastrophe*, or at least a bloody civil War (which wou'd be of the happiest consequence for *France*) but a more express engagement in behalf of the House of *Hanover* ; and particularly the coming over of the *Duke of Cambridge*, who, as we may all be sure, that he will quickly be invited by her *Majesty*, out of her maternal affection and tenderest regard for the *Protestant Religion*, as well as for the good and quiet of all her Subjects : So none can secretly *repine* at his coming, or openly *oppose it*, but such as wou'd engross the *Queen's Ear* and *Favour* solely to themselves, or who are absolute *Enemies* to the *Succession* of that most serene Family.

At this critical Juncture we have other guess matters to mind, besides the great numbers of *Popish Prayer Books*, *Catechisms*, and *Traacts of Controversy*, which are as openly sold, as they were in *K. James's* time. One needs but step into *Mac-Mahon's* shop in *Drury-lane* to see 'em on the Counter for all comers and goers, as plentifully as *Bibles* or *Common-prayer Books* are to be found in the shops of *Protestant Booksellers*. And I must on this Occasion do the Justice

stice to the *late Ministers*, that, whatever may have been their Faults, this of conniving at the Growth of *Popery* was none of 'em, no more than any way favouring *France* or the *Pretender*. If the case was otherwise, then the *Conspirators*, with their *Allies* and *Abettors* of the *High-church*, must have been false to God and their Country, in keeping such profound silence on these heads, when they were so excessively clamorous about the chimerical *Danger of the Church* from the *Dissenters* and *Low-church-men*, such danger by the *Queen* her self being declar'd to be *groundless and seditious*. Now one of the greatest dangers to the *Church of England*, is the *High-church-men's* arrogating that Name solely to themselves, unchurching all the *Protestants* abroad, with the *Dissenters* at home, and making those they call *Low-church-men* to be not only indifferent or lukewarm, but even schismatical. As in *Ireland* in *King James's* time, all *Protestants*, *Church-men* as well as others, were promiscuously call'd *Whigs* by the *Papists*, a Name they peculiarly bestow'd on them who wou'd oppose the King's Religious or Political Designs : So now in *England* the *High-church-men* reckon 'em all *Whigs* alike, go they to *Church* or to *Meetings*, who approve of the *Toleration*, who cultivate a friendship with the *Dutch*, who entertain kind thoughts of the *Emperor*, who revile not the House of *Hanover*, and who, in one word, will not declare, or at least act for the *Pretender*. The cases are exactly parallel, and so ought our opinion of the men to be the same.

To say it then at once, neither the *French King's* Power, nor that of any other foreign *Potentate*, neither the machinations of the *Pope*, nor the treachery of the *Jacobites* ; neither the Tricks of corrupt *Ministers*, nor the distinction of *Whig* and *Tory*, are half so dangerous to the *PROTESTANT Religion* and the *PROTESTANT Succession*, as dividing the *Protestants* among themselves ; by which dividing

I do not mean diversity of Doctrine, Ceremonies, or Discipline (which are unavoidable) but shunning and hating, and oppressing one another on these accounts. This Strangeness, this Antipathy, this Division, must of course weaken the *Protestant Interest*: And if this Interest is not strong enough, how can the *Protestant Succession* prevail? The *French King* we have often beaten, and may as often beat again. That diminutive Prince the Duke of *Lorain* is of himself so inconsiderable, that let the *Commons* give me but the 100000 pounds, I'll bring him and his Lodger to fare better than they do with the Lyons in the Tower: Nor will a true *British Parliament* ever put up the Indignity offer'd her Majesty by this paltry Duke's Bully-back, in not complying with her repeated Instances; no more than they will forgive those who sit still, with their hands as close as their mouths, while a *British Queen* is thus insufferably slighted. The *Romish Dragon* we have often put to flight, as oft he made a show of returning to infect and waste our fortunate Islands. The *Non-swearers*, without the *For swearers*, are the most contemptible generation in the World. The distinction of *Whig* and *Tory* is so far from being always hurtful, that it is sometimes necessary, and not seldom creates an emulation who shall best deserve of the publick.

Indeed *Corrupt Ministers* may go a greater way than any of these towards our Destruction, and especially if there be at any time a *Single Minister*: for such a one, having the purse and prerogative at his disposal, may barefac'd and without the *Tricking* which is inseparable from such Men, pull down in less than three years what has been a building above twenty; he may clandestinely strike up a *personal* instead of a *national Peace*, a *Peace for three people* instead of *three Kingdoms*; he may put an end to all debate, as well by *bribing* in one branch of the
Legislature,

Legislature as by *creating* in another, and consequently attempt the ruin of the *Constitution*, least the *Constitution* should at last ruin him : Yet either the changeableness of the Prince, the emulation of his Fellows, the springs of the *Exchequer* sinking low, or the spirits of the Nation rising high, may stop the career of such a *publick Grievance* ; and then his doom may be like that of the Bishop of *Ely*, prime Minister to *Richard* the First, *per totam Insulam publicè proclamatur, pereat qui perdere cuncta festinat, opprimatur ne omnes opprimat* ; that is, *Proclamation is made throughout the whole Island, let him be confounded who hastens to confound all Things ; let him be destroyed, lest he destroy all others*. But if the Church of *England*, which glories in being the *Bulwark of the Reformation*, should first be divided within herself, then at mortal odds with the *Dissenters*, and lastly at variance with the *Protestant Churches* abroad ; what Power or Policy, without the miraculous Interposition of Divine Providence, can save the *Protestant Succession* from being defeated, or the *Protestant Religion* from being extirpated ?

Hoc Ithacus velit, & magno mercentur Atridae.

The Consequences are unavoidable, and therefore it is that such infinite Pains are taken to make effectual the Premises. All the Emissaries of *Rome*, and the Tools of *France*, or the *Pretender*, (chuse which you will) are hard at work to widen our Breaches, and to render any Coalition impracticable, tho' but in the means of providing for our common Security. This is the true Reason why the *Jacobites* were the most eager of all others for pressing the *Schism-Bill*, as foreseeing it would sooner alienate and exasperate, than reclaim or reconcile the *Dissenters* : Giving out at the same time for an Encouragement, that the *Pretender* would render the Church independent on the *State*, and procure an Union

with the *Gallican Church*; thus to create a new Division in the *Church* itself, and to make 'em the less concern'd for each others Interests.

The Bill is now past into a Law, and time will shew whether they who wish well to the peace, wealth, and power of *England*, will not think it as necessary to have it repeal'd, as were the *Penal Clauses* against *Dissenters* upon the Revolution. In the mean time, the Faction, not content with this *Bill*, fairly tells us in more than one printed Paper, that the *Toleration* itself must go next: And tis prodigious to consider, how many devices for dividing the *Protestant* Interest have been found out by their industrious malice! The most recent of all can never be forgot. The *Grand-Jury* of the City of *London* have, after the example of both Houses of *Parliament*, (which will likewise be follow'd by the whole Nation) made an *Address*, to thank Her Majesty for Her Gracious promise of a Reward for those who shall bring the *Pretender* to Justice. The like was mov'd in the *Common Council*, and the *Conspirators* perceiving it was like to pass without opposition, moved on their part, that the *Queen* should be thank'd for passing the *Schism-bill*, to the end the like Clause may be put into all the *Addresses* over *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*; and that they who will not be for subscribing any *Address* so drawn-up, (as no *Dissenters* can in Conscience do so) may be represented as being against the *Address* itself: Tho none more grateful on this score to Her Majesty, nor more hearty against the *Pretender*, than they all are. This proceeding is not barely unjust, but Devilish: And the *Successor* is not so ill inform'd, as to be so poorly put upon. Alderman *Child*, to his eternal Honour, oppos'd this motion as quite foreign to the business in hand, of evil example, and broaching Division, where otherwise unanimity might be expected: but the old senseless wretch that begun it, insisted still upon

upon it ; for having in King *Charles's* Reign, dipt his hands in guiltless *Blood*, he, like other true *blood-bounds*, can never be too much glutted with *Blood*, even in Old Age, when they are no longer able to bite. Those *Dissenters* may now thank themselves that voted for him the last time, or that believed his Repentance sincere in King *William's* time ; Sir *William* being at any time as readily dispos'd for their destruction, as Sir *Samuel*.

After this tool of the Party must come a man who passes for one of his betters, tho' for the perfidious and impolitick part he has acted in every thing, but especially in the *Schism-Bill*, I think him the last of all mankind. He wou'd perswade the *Dissenters* that he was against it in his opinion, nay that it was levell'd forth at himself ; and yet all his Creatures voted for it, without excepting his own Son, who has brought this at least from *Christ-church*, that a *Presbyterian* is ten times worse than a *Papist* : whereas when the late Lord *Godolphin* found it inconvenient to vote himself against the *Occasional Conformity Bill*, yet he got all his Dependents to do it, and this we know is an ordinary fetch of Decency in Politics. But some persons have so mean an Idea of the rest of men, for tamely suffering themselves to be so often deluded or insulted by them, that they are persuaded they are able to pawm upon them any absurdity, tho' ever so gross or incredible. So this very man had the insuperable front to tell the Elector of *Hanover* lately by Letter, *That his very Enemies wou'd allow him to be inviolably devoted to his Succession* ; whereas the *Elector* must needs know long ago, that this peerless Politician has no enemy but such as are so from their belief of his not being for the *Succession*, nor any friend but those who believe him to be against it. How easily wou'd it have been for him, had he any spark of humanity or sincerity left, to regain in great part on this late occasion, the confidence

confidence he has so justly forfeited : For, after slipping such an opportunity, he may pretend as long as he will, that to his other crimes he has not added that of opposing the *Hanover Succession*, no body will believe him. Or supposing they cou'd believe him, what then? Who is it that has brought it into danger, and the Kingdom into such diffidence with some Princes, that they will not admit us into their Treaties; and into such contempt with others, that a pitiful Duke of *Lorain* dares insult her *Majesty*? Has not his tool of tools, that cock sparrow the Lord *Indefatigable*, provok'd the Ministers of all foreign States, first by affronting them, and then begging their pardon? who has weaken'd our friends, and double fortify'd our enemies? or who has encourag'd the *Papists* and *Nonjurors* to creep out of their rags and their holes, where they lay hid for above 20 Years; and not only to appear sleek and confident in publick, but to manage Parties, to alienate (as much as in them lies) the *Succession*, to dispose of the fate of Kingdoms? What amends can his skill in *Genealogies* make for all this mischief, and a thousand times more? especially the enmity propagated among *Protestants* at home, and the seeds of discord sown between the *Dutch* and us? What disorders are not cwing to his self-sufficiency, and to his foolish affectation of imitating *Cardinal Richlieu*? for which reason as the one had his Father *Joseph*, the other must have his Father *Jonathan*, to do all their jobs of Villany : And both must lay the project of an *Academy*, to draw off the most pregnant wits from studying the Prosperity of their Country, or examining into any mismanagement; so to engage 'em in fruitless disputes about words and syllables, or to involve 'em in endless disquisitions about things, which, if possible to be discover'd, yet are of no advantage to themselves or the World.

All men are not ignorant who the spark is that said, *If he cou'd not prevent, by G--d he would hamper*
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the Succession. It was not the *cunning* Man we have been now speaking to, but one who from being his favourite *Agent*, sets up for himself in a hurry (as he does all things) and is suddenly become his *Rival* for the *Regiment*. This last Circumstance is undoubtedly true : But I ask the *Colonel* and the *Captain's* Pardon, if I allow of no other Difference between them, excepting as to the *Mans*, both being entirely agreed in the *End* they propose. The *Colonel* is for proceeding warily, and gently leading Folks from one step to another, till they are got beyond a Possibility of recovering themselves ; for he remembers how King *James* miscarry'd, purely as he thinks, thro' his too open and precipitate measures. But the *Captain*, impatient of Delays, and being as hot in his Head as in his Heels, believes *procrastination* to be ever dangerous ; and that King *James* miscarry'd for want of metal enough, or of such *Ministers* as himself to serve his pious Designs. But if they should be fallen out in good earnest, what would it concern the rest of the World ? Except as far as they expect the fulfilling of some old propheticall Proverbs, as *when certain folks fall out, other folks will come by their own*, and the like musty Crumbs of Comfort.

It were most deplorable indeed for *Great Britain*, if she had no Hopes but in their difference : And desperate were the Case of the *Succession*, if the Fate of it depended upon a misunderstanding between any two men upon Earth, tho' infinitely more considerable than these. The Dignity of our *State*, and the Weight of the *Succession*, are highly plac'd above all such mean considerations. Our people are as brave as ever, as jealous of their *Glory*, as averse to *France*, and as tenacious of their *Liberty*, having likewise the *Laws* on their side. The *Electors of Hanover* is no less Wise than Valiant, as powerful as he is willing to assert his Right, and perfectly inform'd
of

of *Men and Things* in his future Dominions. The King of *Prussia*, his Nephew and Son-in-Law, is so much engaged to him by Inclination and Interest, that when an offer of the *Succession* was lately made to him by a certain *bonafide* Dealer in Crowns (who has it still in his Power, as he thinks, to dispose of ours) he Rejected the motion with the most generous *Disdain*, discovering the whole to the *Electo*r, and assuring him of his Person, Treasure, and Forces upon occasion. The *Landgrave of Hesse-Cassel*, and the rest of the *Protestant princes*, are the *Electo*r's by Principle and Treaty. 'Tis not to the Friends of the *Succession*, who are all Friends to him, that the *Emperor* owes a Revenge. They are only his Enemies that he would gratifie, by helping to impose the *Pretender* upon us, and which he will as soon do, as yield up the *Empire* or his *Hereditary Countries* to the House of *Bourbon*. The mystery of his present Conduct in this Affair, will in convenient time, shine out as bright as his personal Vertues; which his own Genius, and the tryal of both Fortunes, have rendered eminently conspicuous to the whole world, exceeding most, and already equalling the best among the *Austrian Princes*. Of Assistance as well as Advice from the *Dutch*, no good *Protestant* or good *Englishman* can have the least scruple. An *English Court* has quarrell'd with them some times, and by an *English Faction* they have been often betray'd; but ever lov'd, ever cherish'd, ever supported by the *English Nation*. We have mutually defended each other, we have retaliated all good Offices, and the Universe is wide enough to supply both with an ample Field of *Trade*, our *Rivalship* consisting meerly in *Industry*. Of this their Government is apprized, and in this the meanest of their people is instructed. Now tho by the late *Guaranty* they are not bound to come till desired by us, yet by Treaty with him, they are bound to assist the *Electo*r wheresoever he desires: These, I confess, are great and glorious prospects;

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But these alone, without *Union* among Ourselves, will not do ; as this *Union* itself, without any other Assistance, but that of the *Elector* and the *Dutch*, (which we may naturally reckon our own) would be abundantly sufficient. Of this our Enemies are aware, even the Captain himself, who labours night and day to sow *Division* among us ; and he appears therefore so obstinately wedded to the Party of the *Conspirators*, that, to gratifie their *damning Zeal*, he injuriously tramples on the *Athes* of his own *Progenitors*. Yet let but the *Church of England* and the *Dissenters* keep clear of those blind Sands, on which the avow'd and conceal'd *Papists* design they shall split ; then they may securely bid defiance to *France*, to the *Pope*, to the great Devil in Hell, and to the little Devil at *Bar le Duc*, or wherever else he may be skulking at this present Hour.

In case of any Design discover'd for an *Attack* (as many such Intimations come every day, tho no less ridicul'd and unregarded, than the lifting Trade was at first in *Ireland*) in such a case, I say, all honest Men of all Parties will immediately enter into a solemn Association in *Defence of the Queen's Majesty*, of the *Protestant Succession*, of their own persons, privileges, and possessions : And, if it comes to *Action*, the first thing they'll do will be, to make sure of all *Papists* and *Nonjurors* ; pursuing them with Vengeance if any Violence should be offer'd to the *Queen*, or to any of those in the *Entail* of the Crown.

On this occasion of pressing for Union, I would, as a Friend, suggest to the *Colonel*, that he, even he, need not despair, provided that, instead of sily *falling in* with what he cannot hinder, he timely merits to obtain the *Forgiveness* of all those Mischiefs whereof he's the principal Contriver ; for 'tis too much to expect from human Nature, that Crimes of this dye should ever be forgotten : But, *Inimicitiae*
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sunt deponendae Reipublicae causâ. As our Country has a right to reconcile any Differences of her Children, who ought to compliment her with their private grudges, for her's and their own common safety; so the *Offending party* is oblig'd to make some signal *Atonement*, by offering, at least, an *expiatory sacrifice*, and this as a Mark as well of his sincere Repentance, as of his future Dutifulness and good Behaviour. The *Colonel* knows what I mean well enough, and I am sure he has it in his Power to perform it: Or, if it be in my Power, he'll be necessitated at last to do it. But, should he lose any time on his *Is's*, his *Or's*, his *Buts*, his *And's*, or any other dilatory Particles, which he'll find to have no such Virtue *Abroad*, as the Monosyllables *Yea* and *Nay* have in Parliament; then the mercurial *Captain* will be sure to turn short upon him, and with a very good Grace deserve his own Pardon, at the Expence of the *Colonel's* Head. It is not quite two Weeks, since a Drunken Dialogue was over-heard in *Greenwich Park*.

In the mean time, let us with Hands and Hearts lifted up to Heaven, pray for the vigilant *Queen*, who has so seasonably given us Warning of our imminent Danger from Popish Superstition and French Tyranny. Let us also with the like Ardor pray for our dear Country, for the Protestant Succession in the House of *Hanover*, and for the high Court of Parliament, which is so zealous in their Defence and Service. Tho' we are told of our Danger neither from the Pulpit, nor from another place, yet we are inform'd of it from surer Intelligence. Let us not despair therefore, but play the Men for our people, and for the Cities of our God.

The Sacredness of Parliamentary Securities, &c.

THE weakness or corruption of *publick Ministers*, are the main causes of the disorder or dissolution of *publick Credit* : But for any one time that these ill effects proceed from their *weakness*, they are a thousand times owing to their *corruption*. Such *Ministers* as are playing some advantagious game of their own, instead of labouring (according to their bounden duty) to procure the common Good ; or who are embark'd in some desperate design, destructive of the Laws or Religion of their Country, must bribe Parliaments of course : and *Pensioners* in Parliament will always overlook any ill husbandry of the *Government*, that they themselves may share in the profuseness of it, or that they may be still brib'd on, not to declaim against it, neither to demand nor to ordain a redress. The *Exchequer* thus exhausted, in order to purchase several more tools and creatures besides members of both houses, must by one means or other be recruited to supply the inevitable occasions of the publick. Hence recourse of necessity must be had to *Expedients*. And indeed the deepest Policy of State-Empiricks (after their grimaces, shrugs and affected gravity) lies in the invention of little *Tricks*, which sort of cunning, taking abundance of pains to conceal, yet passes only with the ignorant for Wisdom. But if the *Prince* or themselves are brought into discredit or distress by such mean artifices, then he that finds out some new Trick to shift affairs, or to ward the present blow, what a celebrated *States-man* must he be esteem'd ever after ! No Confidence, no Employment, no Estate, are thought too great for him : And his Reputation must be supported, like some *Palladium*, tho' the discovery of his *juggling* or *bungling*, shou'd reduce matters into

a far worse condition, and perplex them more than they were before.

Yet such perplexities are not to such *Ministers* always disagreeable : For, as a certain Author says very justly, *They love to jsh in troubled waters, and they find all disorders profitable to themselves. They can flatter the humour of a misguided Prince, and increase their fortunes by the excesses of a wastful Prodigal. The phrenzy of an imperious Woman is easily render'd propitious to them, and they can turn the zeal of a violent Bigot to their advantage. The treacheries of false Allies agree with their own Corruptions. And as they fear nothing so much, as that the Prince shou'd return to his people, and keep all things quiet ; so they almost ever render themselves subservient to such as wou'd disturb them. And (that I may add a great deal to this Gentleman's observation in a few words) Tricks are so much practis'd, encourag'd and authoriz'd, by ambitious or corrupt States-men, to whom they are habitual ; that a Minister, who shou'd regulate his conduct or intrigues by the moral Rules of Prudence, might pass perhaps for an honest man, but would be counted a very sad Politician.*

When some darling cause, fatal to the Constitution, is to be serv'd, as such *Ministers* only are capable to undertake the maiming or murdering of their political mother, which ought to be far dearer than their natural one ; so the wretched Parricides are generally pickt out of that party which are most averse from, or owe a revenge to some other party : And consequently they are ready to oblige the *Prince* with any thing (however dishonourable to themselves, or pernicious to the common-wealth) provided he gratifies their passion against their Enemies, to ruin whom they wou'd madly ruin, Religion and Liberty, their own security, with the hopes and happiness of all Posterity. Whoever is against this sort of men,

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as every sensible honest man is sure to be so, him they presently declare an enemy to the *Government*, by which word *Government* they ever understand their own Administration. Yet, with their good leaves, a man may be hearty for the *present Government*, who is as hearty against *the present way of Governing*; that is, he may sincerely acknowledge the *Prince's Title*, tho' he may as zealously oppose the mismanagement of his *Ministers*.

But of all such *Ministers* none are so mercenary, malicious, or desperate, as the *Deserters* from one Party to their Antagonists. This Desertion commonly happens, either because their pretentions were slighted, for want of abilities to fill the Posts they were ambitious to obtain in the State; or, because their tricking, dissimulation, and treachery were too well known, to trust them with any post whatsoever. Thus their malice against their old Friends becomes implacable, in proportion as they imagine their reconciliation to be desperate: And, they grow as furious to gain the good opinion of their new Friends, as in their own Natures they are groveling and mercenary. It becomes a settled Rule and Maxim with them, *to oppose any thing the others propose*; and, in a Word, to differ from them in Religion, in Politicks, nay, and in the ordinary conduct of Life, as widely as they can. If their Enemies happen (for example) to be more concern'd in the Publick Funds than the Party they have espoused, they are for that very reason (on the one hand) for discountenancing, impairing, or cancelling those *Funds*; as much as they are (on the other hand) disposed to do the same, to supply the room of those *publick Revenues*, which they have diverted to other uses than those they were given for, and sometimes to purposes diametrically opposite.

That now we may descend from such general observations, to particular Facts, we should, I think, draw

draw this Inference from them by the way, that *Ministers* who would not resemble those I have now painted, ought to steer a different course, and, most especially, to be as tender of the *publick Faith*, as of the Apple of their Eye : But not under pretence of discharging *national debts*, to ruin *national credit*. Yet so it is at this very time, that several persons, who would engross to themselves all Loyalty to Her *Majesty*, all esteem for the present *Ministry*, are busily insinuating every where, that either the *Funds* must be taxt one time or other to supply the exigences of the State, or that the *Capital* of any one, or all, among them, ought to be paid off with the soonest, and so the Interest discharged ; certain Undertakers in the mean time promising to lend the Government as much at 4 *per Cent.* and for some few inconsiderable Advantages, not to be specify'd at this present Writing. The pretence of these worthy Undertakers is to lessen the publick charge, at which *Irish papists*, *Scots Jacobites*, and *French Emissaries*, must be no less heartily griev'd, than they (good Souls) are heavily burthen'd by them : But 'tis extremely remarkable, that their way of paying the National Debts, is by ruining (as I said) the Credit of the Nation. It was not barely the 8 *per Cent.* that induc'd the Subscribers to erect the *Bank of England* : The Trade allow'd the United Company to the *East Indies*, was a greater motive than the Interest granted by the Government. And the term of two and thirty Years certain, engaged thousands more to venture into the *Lotteries* (to name no more of our *Funds*) than the same Interest for a less number of Years could have done.

It has been always a maxim in Government, not to exasperate too many at a time, tho' even obnoxious or guilty : But, much less to do so, when the persons concern'd, have the most undisputed Right on their side ; and that not only they and their Families,

milies, but all others who Trade, or have any dealings with them, will think themselves nearly affected. The Bargain with all of them was deliberate and above board, transacted with the same forms and solemnity as other *Acts of Parliament*. But if it shou'd on any pretence, or as to any one of them, be made void, the mischiefs are innumerable that would follow. I shall enumerate a few of them. *Foreigners* hold our *Parliamentary Faith* to be sacred and inviolable, which opinion has encourag'd them to come into all our *Funds*, and to be as earnestly engag'd as our selves in the Preservation of the present Government of *Queen ANNE* : A Government as firmly settl'd on *Revolution-principles*; as was that of *King William*, who was to his last Breath a religious Observer of his Word ; but remarkably so with relation to *Parliamentary Securities*.

But if the least Countenance should be granted to the Overtures of those, who are but too much countenanced by certain Persons, that in good Policy should least do so of all others ; then there's an end of all our *CREDIT*, not only with other Countries, but even at home. Yet the greatest of the two Mischiefs will be this inevitable Ruin of *Domestick Credit* : For no body will ever part with Money again to the Government on any terms, be the *Premiums* ever so great or tempting ; since a Parliament may as well break their Engagements at one time as at another, and instead of *reducing Interest* from 8 to 5 or 4 (as in the *Bank* for Example) bring it from 4 to 2, or, which is more effectual, not pay a Groat of the Principal, a *Method* that will quickly discharge the whole Debt instead of a part. And truly, not to disguise or mince the matter at all, I never heard any man argue for *reducing* the Interest of the *Funds*, that was not an Enemy to the *Cause* towards the support of which these *Funds* were given : So that *paying off* in such Mens mouths, does always signify *shutting up*.
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But supposing they meant no more than reducing or discharging, I dread to think, after such a manifest Violation of the *publick Faith*, what would become of us, if we should fall into any urgent or indispensable Necessity of raising money : Whether to oppose an *Invasion* at home, which the Queen's late Proclamation gives us fair warning to provide against ; or to maintain a Fleet and Forces Abroad, which the present Circumstances of *Europe*, and our own Negotiations at certain Courts, do not render unlikely to happen very speedily. Yet all this (momentous as it seems) is but a Trifle to this one consideration, and for the effecting of which, the whole seems to be calculated : *viz.* That if the *Pretender* should promise to make good all the Funds, and to restore what might be unjustly transfer'd or diminish'd, 'tis not impossible but that those who should be already injur'd, and such as should be apprehensive to undergo the same condition in their turn, would be apt to prefer their *private Interest* to the *publick safety*.

But what involves all other Evils in itself alone, this is the certain way to bring us at one stroke under that Slavery, we have ever so bravely resisted ; and those be made the Instruments of Establishing *Tyranny*, who have been hitherto the Guardians of our *Liberty* : I mean any Parliament that, under any pretence, should concur in such destructive measures. For, let who will be offended at it, I must and will speak the naked Truth ; which is, that *there is no other Credit in England, but that of the Parliament*. The *Bankers*, and all that were concern'd with them, do well remember King *Charles the Second's* shutting up the *Exchequer* : But if a Parliament should once break their Contracts with us, to whom shall we fly for a Remedy ! If our Liberties be Invaded by the Keepers of them, of whom shall we seek Protection ? Where shall we hope
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for Justice, if the Malefactors be the Judges ? Can we think it possible our Grievances may be redrest, when they are committed by Persons, from whom there is no higher Appeal ? And, who therefore, after any Parliaments following the predatory Example of King *Charles*, ever hereafter will or can be trusted with the disposal of the *publick Revenues* ? None but Fools will be deceived with the pretence, that this being done by a Law, it is therefore lawfully done : For, as Parliaments, no more than private men, should not break their **WORDS** ; and, that if they do, they must no more expect to be trusted than private Men : So it is likewise a most infallible Truth as any in the *Holy Bible* where it stands, *That iniquity may be established by a Law*, and that no Sanction whatsoever can make Injustice to be a virtue. I need not add, that those who are so sanguine with accommodating the Government at *4 per Cent.* in consideration of I will not now say what Advantages, would be equal Sufferers in all the Consequences that may naturally, or rather necessarily follow upon the infraction of *publick Credit* ; of which Consequences the least will be, that they can have no security, why these *Advantages* may not as well be transferr'd in time to others, who shall offer more or less as occasion requires. Miserable stupid Wretches ! be they Sir *James's*, Sir *John's*, or what Sirs, or Esquires, or Masters you please ! that from such uncertain prospects of a little sordid Gain, and on such sandy Foundations laid by their mortal Enemies, *Blood-succours*, *Harpies*, *Cormorants*, *Footmen*, *Drawers*, and the Lord Almighty knows what detestable Birds of Prey, or despicable Vermin besides ; that on this Foot, I say, would involve their Country, hazard their own Fortunes, ruin their Friends or Correspondents, with all those who by Consanguinity, Marriage, or any other tye, are become their Relations.

As Experience is the servant of Wise Men, and the mistress of Fools; so we may observe that the like attempts have been made many Hundred Years ago in *Egypt, Greece, Italy*, and other places, not only for *reducing or cancelling* the Interest due to particular Societies from the publick; but even to discharge the Debts of private Persons, as if the way of enabling them to pay Taxes to the Government, had been to defraud their Creditors. They were the best and wisest Men that ever oppos'd these Proceedings, as destructive of all Equity, Faith, and Property, and occasioning murmurs, complaints, revenge, and seditions. On the other hand, such as were obnoxious to the Laws, hated for their Villanies, over-whelm'd with Debt, and that favour'd or affected *Tyranny*, were always for diminishing or rescinding of Debts publick or private by particular Laws. The alluring pretence, too too successful was ease to the people; but the Design at bottom was to destroy all *publick Faith*, and to scramble for large shares in the dissolution of the Government. Such were *Manlius, Catiline*, but more-especially *Julius Caesar*, at the very time that he was projecting the Ruin of his Countrys Liberty: And, such at this time are the open and secret Abettors of the *Pretender*, with those of desperate Fortunes, under a shining out-side of Plenty; and more peculiarly those, who, having been false to their Trust, or having actually betray'd their Country, will sooner concur to ruin the Constitution, than that they should be call'd one day to an Account for their unparallel'd Villanies. By their Fruits you may know 'em. Modern Instances I shall produce none, except the *Hollanders*, who in supporting the publick Credit, by that only sav'd their Country, when the *French* were at the Gates of *Amsterdam*; and Four of the Seven Provinces actually subdued. I should exceed the bounds I propose to my self, if I would produce all the Examples of this kind that occur in
anci-

ancient History, and which are written for the Instruction of Posterity. But it deserves a peculiar remark from every man concern'd (and what honest man is not?) that as private Debts were never but once remitted in the begining of the *Roman* Commonwealth, no complaint being ever afterwards received of this sort (except once in a very urgent conjuncture, when even then the Creditors were paid out of the Common Treasury, rather than be depriv'd of their Debts, or strip'd of their property by a Law) so, on the other hand, the Debts of the Publick, tho' ever so great and burthensom, were never at all discharg'd or lessened by any Law. This strict observation of Faith and Justice did never let 'em want money on any occasion, and made the richest Citizens think their Wealth safer with the Government, than in their own hands. As the D. of *Buckingham* said of Statutes, that they were not as Ladies, "The worse for being Old," so I say of Precedents or Examples, that they are much the better, as bearing a greater stamp of Authority. It will not therefore be amiss, to hear what Doctrine has been preach'd on this head, by one of the chief Magistrates of the *Roman* Empire, who lost his Life in the defence of his Countrys Liberty. I mean *CICERO*, who discourses largely of it to his Son; and, after other excellent things, he goes on in the following Words. *It must be the principal care of him, who is at the head of the Government, that every one be secur'd in his Property, and that the Estates of private men be not diminish'd under the pretence of a publick good. Governments and Cities (says he) were constituted chiefly for this very reason, that all men might enjoy their own. For tho' men associated together by the instinct of Nature, yet it was in hopes of preserving their goods, that they invented the fortifications of Cities.*

Then after showing what care ought to be taken for maintaining the credit of the Treasury, and that
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the People shou'd be charg'd as little as possible with Taxes, or that in case of necessity they be punctually inform'd of their danger, and convinc'd that without bearing some burden they cannot be safe in any thing: After recommending Frugality and Moderation to the *Ministers* of State, and the avoiding of superfluous Expences, or lightly squandering the publick Money: after these things, I say, he comes to speak of those who pretended to *ease the People*, some times by an *Agrarian Law* or levelling Estates in Land, and at other times by *diminishing* or *rescinding* publick and private Debts. These men (says he) *shake the foundations of the Government*; in the first place *dissolving Concord*, which cannot consist with this way of taking money from some, and giving it to others: Then, secondly, *there's an end of all Equity*, if every man may not keep his own; for it is essential (as I said before) to a Community or City that it be free, and not under any doubts or fears about the security of their possessions. But neither do such persons obtain that Reputation, which they imagine to get by this Project, so pernicious to the Government: For he that loses his right becomes their Enemy, and he to whom it is transferr'd, only seems willing to receive it, and particularly conceals his Joy about their lessening the debts, least his own Insolvency shou'd be thereby made apparent; whereas he that receives the Injury both remembers the Affront, and openly professes his resentments. But putting the case that those were the grater party, who wickedly receive what is unjustly taken away from others; yet are they not therefore of greater consideration, for these things are not to be judg'd by number but by weight.

To this I know it will be said, that a method might have been found out to carry on the late War, and yet the expences not grow so exorbitant. Now supposing this to be true, the examining of which is quite beside the present question, yet, as the old saying has it, *Quod fieri non debuit, factum valet*; the Publick Faith is engag'd, and is one of those things

that

that cannot be undone, without undoing us all. Hear what Cicero says to this point. *What reason is there (says he) for this compounding of the publick debts, but that you shall buy lands with my money? you keep the land, and I lose my money. Indeed all care ought to be taken, that no Debts be suffer'd to grow which may endanger the Government. This may be prevented several ways: or, if it should happen, yet the Richer must not lose what is rightly their's, nor Debtors gain what is the property of others. For nothing more firmly supports a Government than Credit, which cannot yet subsist, unless there be an indispensable Obligation of paying what is due. This compounding for Debts was never more vehemently urg'd than in my Consulship. All sorts and degrees of men were in arms and camps about it; to whom I resisted in such a manner, that this extraordinary mischief was then rooted out of the Commonwealth. There never was a greater debt owing, yet never any was better or easier paid: For the hope of defrauding being taken away, there follow'd a necessity of payment. But truly this (Cæsar) who is now a Conqueror, tho' subdued at that time, has since put those things in execution which he had before projected, notwithstanding that his own particular Interest was no longer concern'd. So great was his inclination to do mischief, that he wou'd take pleasure in it for mischief-sake, had he no other Inducements. All those therefore, who have any hand in managing the Government, should abstain from this kind of Liberality, which takes from some to give to others. Let them before all things provide, that every one may keep his own according to Law and Equity; that the meaner sort be not circumvented for want of power, nor that the wealthy be obstructed out of envy, from preserving or recovering their Rights.*

To this passage it is impossible to add any thing, as it contains a general Doctrine; nor will it be very necessary to insist still more particularly on the pernicious design that has given birth to this Discourse. People begin to be pretty well Alarm'd :
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The present Parliament has so far taken notice of the publick Jealousie on this score, as to ward against it in the title of the Bill now depending for *reducing of Interest*. But so long as the *Conspirators* have any power; those concerned in the *Funds*, whether strangers or natives, will never be easy; and consequently the price of *Stocks* must be always unequal and precarious, to the unspeakable detriment of Trade, and the involving of numberless private Families in great difficulties. I shall say the less on this subject now, because I have a larger and more particular account to give of the matter next Sessions of Parliament, in which account any body running may Read, to his entire conviction, that *this execrable design is not of to day or yesterday, but long since laid by the man, who about Four Years ago, in an Essay on Credit, would needs argue us out of Our Senses, by metaphysically distinguishing between Publick Credit, and Parliamentary Credit.*

This *Essay*, I know, was so far then from creating suspicion in any Body, that it was a subject of *Diversions* to every Body of every side all over the Town, both as to its stile and matter: But, after a fair Examination, and comparing the Doctrine Taught in it, with what has since been Attempted or Atchieved, it will appear to have deserved a much more serious Consideration. Till the opportunity of setting these things in a better light presents itself, let us keep this Impression deeply Engrav'd in our daily remembrance, that *as the Pretender's Friends will be for lessening the Interest of the Funds; and the Pretender himself for seizing upon the Principal, without which he can neither Reimburse the French King, nor secure himself in the possession of the Throne: So the House of HANOVER will be for the punctual payment of all the advantages granted by Parliament; and be as Religiously exact in preserving the publick Funds*

untouch'd, as in all Things else they'll be for GO-
 VERNING BY LAW, without which they
 have neither any Right to the Throne, nor security in
 it. In the mean time, I desire the *Hanoverian*
Whigs and *Tories*, who all the World knows are
 principally (if not almost solely) concern'd in
 the *FUNDS*, to consider what is meant by the
 following Passage in the *Examiner* of the 5th of
 this instant *July*. Since the Faction pretend to have
 a Refuge and Sanctuary, a Power to resort to, with
 whom their future Hopes and Ambition, their Resent-
 ments and thirst of Revenge, are safely deposited; no
 legal Provisions should be omitted for cutting off this
 Dependence; and saving Great Britain from a
 possibility of ever falling into their hands again.

FINIS.

1871
The first of the year was a very dry one
and the crops were much injured
by the drought. The wheat was
very poor and the corn was
also much injured. The
cattle and sheep were
also much injured by the
drought. The farmers
were very much distressed
and the government
gave them some help.
The year was a very
difficult one for the
farmers and the
government.

1871